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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-10 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 OMB-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-12
HA-05 /120 W
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R 221741Z NOV 77
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3871
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL OPORTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USUN NEW YORK 1324
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DIA WASHDC
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 9024

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PINT PGOV AO
SUBJECT: UNITA FOREIGN SECRETARY SUGGESTS WAY TO ANGOLA
SOLUTION

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SUMMARY: IN MEETING NOV 18, UNITA FOREIGN SECRETARY JORGE SANGUMBA STATED THAT A SOLUTION TO THE ANGOLA PROBLEM MUST INVOLVE THE "GREAT POWERS (READ US)" WHO COULD RESOLVE THE IMPASSE IN ANGOLA BY WORKING THROUGH AFRICAN PROXIES. END SUMMARY.

1. SANGUMBA'S LISBON MISSION: AT HIS REQUEST, UNITA FOREIGN SECRETARY JORGE SANGUMBA MET WITH EMBOFF IN LOCAL HOTEL NOV 18. SANGUMBA SAID THAT UNITA PRESIDENT JONAS SAVIMBI HAD SENT HIM TO LISBON TO EVALUATE REPORTS THAT THE GOP INTENDED TO SEND 3-5000 COMBAT TROOPS TO ASSIST THE MPLA IN ANGOLA. AFTER CONFERRING WITH SEVERAL MILITARY AND CIVILIAN FRIENDS OF UNITA, SANGUMBA HAD CONCLUDED THAT THE REPORTS WERE FALSE. HOWEVER, HE REQUESTED EMBASSY'S EVALUATION OF THE REPORT, AND A REVIEW OF THE PORTUGUESE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION. EMBOFF REPLIED THAT IT WAS UNLIKELY THAT THE GOP WOULD SEND COMBAT TROOPS TO ANGOLA.

2. UNITA'S BRIEFING: UNITA NOW HAS 12,000 TROOPS TRAINED AND ARMED, SANGUMBA SAID, AND ANOTHER 8,000 IN TRAINING WHO DO NOT HAVE ARMS. HOWEVER, DURING A RECENT TRIP TO TWELVE AFRICAN COUNTRIES, UNITA PRESIDENT SAVIMBI HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN ELICITING SUPPORT AND SUPPLY OF MATERIEL. AS A RESULT, UNITA EXPECTS TO HAVE THE 8,000 TROOPS CONFIDENTIAL

TRAINED AND ARMED IN THREE TO FOUR MONTHS. UNITA STILL LACKS HEAVY ARMAMENT.

3. IMPASSE IN ANGOLA: SANGUMBA CHARACTERIZED THE ANGOLAN SITUATION AS AN IMPASSE--UNITA RECOGNIZED THAT IT COULD NOT DEFEAT THE CUBANS AND THE MPLA, NOR COULD THE MPLA DEFEAT UNITA. THE SOLUTION LAY IN THE FORMATION OF "GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNION" WHICH WOULD INCLUDE ALL FACTIONS.

4. USG POLICY: SANGUMBA STATED THAT UNITA HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED BY PRESIDENT CARTER'S RECENT REMARKS ON THE CUBAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA, AND ASKED WHAT CURRENT USG POLICY TOWARD ANGOLA IS. EMBOFF REPLIED THAT THE USG WAS CONSTRAINED FROM ASSISTING ANY FACTION IN ANGOLA, WHICH SANGUMBA UNDERSTOOD. EMBOFF SAID THE USG WISHED A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE ANGOLAN WAR AND WOULD BE RECEPTIVE TO SUGGESTIONS AS TO HOW THE IMPASSE MIGHT BE BROKEN.

5. "GREAT POWERS" AND AFRICAN PROXIES: SANGUMBA SAID THAT IN UNITA'S OPINION, THE IMPASSE COULD ONLY BE BROKEN

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THROUGH ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF THE "GREAT POWERS." SANGUMBA
NOTED THAT IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT ONE GREAT POWER, THE USSR,
WAS ALREADY INVOLVED. WHAT WAS NEEDED TO RESOLVE THE
IMPASSE AND FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN ANGOLA WAS THE
INVOLVEMENT OF THE OTHER GREAT POWER, WHICH SANGUMBA
SUGGESTED COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH AFRICAN PROXIES.
SANGUMBA CITED ANGLO-AMERICAN EFFORTS IN RHODESIA AND
THE EFFORTS OF THE WESTERN FIVE REGARDING NAMIBIA.
SANGUMBA STATED THAT ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF THE WESTERN
POWERS IS GENERATING SOLUTIONS TO THE RHODESIAN AND
NAMIBIAN PROBLEMS, AND A SIMILAR EFFORT IS NEEDED
IN ANGOLA.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 9024

6. SAVIMBI AND NETO: NOTING RECENT STATEMENTS BY THE MPLA AND UNITA PRECLUDING A DIALOGUE BETWEEN SAVIMBI AND NETO, EMBOFF ASKED IF THE STATEMENTS ACCURATELY REFLECTED UNITA'S POSITION ON TALKS. SANGUMBA SAID THE STATEMENTS ARE PROPAGANDA ISSUED IN RESPONSE TO SIMILAR STATEMENTS FROM NETO. "AT THE MOMENT," SANGUMBA SAID, "THE MPLA IS NETO. THEREFORE, IF WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TALKS WITH THE MPLA, WE WILL HAVE TO TALK TO NETO."

7. ACCEPTABLE PROXIES: EMBOFF ASKED SANGUMBA WHICH AFRICAN LEADERS MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH THE MPLA AND UNITA AS INTERMEDIARIES: SANGUMBA SUGGESTED:
-- KENNETH KAUNDA. KAUNDA, ALTHOUGH HE HAS RECENTLY MADE OVERTURES TO THE MPLA, HAS GENERALLY MAINTAINED A CAREFUL NEUTRALITY. KAUNDA HAS SEVERAL REASONS OF HIS OWN TO WANT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN ANGOLA.
-- HOUIPHET BOIGNY. BOIGNY IS NOT UNACCEPTABLE TO THE MPLA SINCE HE CONTINUES TO DONATE RICE AND OTHER COMMODITIES TO THE MPLA.
-- LEOPOLD SENGHOR. DESPITE THEIR PUBLIC DIFFERENCES, NETO AND SENGHOR MAINTAIN FREQUENT CONTACTS. SENGHOR, IN FACT, HAS DECLINED SEVERAL UNITA REQUESTS FOR ASSIST-ANCE, FEARING ADVERSE EFFECTS ON HIS "NEUTRAL" IMAGE.
STILL ACCEPTABLE, BUT NOT SANGUMBA'S FIRST CHOICES, WERE:
-- ANWAR SADAT. SADAT IN PROBABILITY WOULD BE OCCUPIED WITH OTHER MATTERS.
-- THE NIGERIANS. THE NIGERIANS MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE, DESPITE THE PARTICIPATION OF NIGERIAN OFFICERS ON THE SIDE OF THE MPLA DURING THE EARLY PART OF THE CIVIL WAR. NIGERIAN-ZAIREAN RIVALRY FOR INFLUENCE IN BLACK
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AFRICA MIGHT BE A PROBLEM. SANGUMBA ALSO THOUGHT THE SWEDES MIGHT BE HELPFUL, SINCE THEY ENJOYED GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE MPLA AND OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES. JULIUS NYERERE WAS NOT

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ACCEPTABLE, SANGUMBA CLAIMED, BECAUSE NYERERE SEIZED
94 TONS OF CHINESE WEAPONS DESTINED FOR UNITA AND TURNED THEM
OVER TO THE MPLA DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

8. CUBANS: SANGUMBA STATED A PRECONDITION THAT
THE CUBNAS MUST BE WITHDRAWN BEFORE TALKS COULD BEGIN.
WHEN EMBOFF ASKED HOW NETO COULD BE EXPECTED TO AGREE,
SANGUMBA SAID THE "GREAT POWERS" COULD GET THE CUBANS OUT.

9. THE PROBLEM: SANGUMBA SAID THAT THE BIG ISSUE THAT
WOULD EFFECT TALKS BETWEEN UNITA AND THE MPLA IS, "WHAT
TO DO ABOUT THE ARMIES OF BOTH SIDES?"

10. OAU SUPPORT: UNITA'S SOUNDINGS INDICATE 32 COUNTRIES
SUPPORT FURTHER OAU DISCUSSIONS ABOUT ANGOLA, SANGUMBA
SAID. HE CLAIMED THAT MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE NOW
TELLING UNITA THAT RESISTANCE WAS WORTHWHILE, AND THE OAU
DECISION TO RECOGNIZE THE MPLA GOVERNMENT WAS WRONG.

11. UNITA AND NAMIBIA: SANGUMBA SAID THAT UNITA WILL
CONTINUE TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST ATTACKS FROM SWAPO
FORCES, EVEN THOUGH UNITA WAS AWARE THAT BY DOING SO, THEY
WERE PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS. CITING
SWAPO SOURCES, SANGUMBA SAID SWAPO PLANS A MILITARY
TAKEOVER OF NAMIBIA AS SOON AS SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS ARE
WITHDRAWN. SANGUMBA CLAIMED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE
AWARE OF SWAPO'S INTENTIONS AND THEREFORE WILL NOT AGREE
TO WITHDRAW ALL THEIR TROOPS.

12. COMMENT: A UNITA MEMBER WHO HAD ASSISTED SANGUMBA IN
LISBON TOLD EMBOFF THAT SANGUMBA REPEATEDLY TOLD HIM THAT
ONLY THE UNITED STATES COULD RESOLVE THE ANGOLAN SITUATION,
AND UNITA STRONGLY HOPES THAT THE US WILL INITIATE AN
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EFFORT TO BRING THE TWO SIDES TOGETHER.
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Message Attributes

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TAGS: PINT, PGOV, AO, US, (SANGUMBA, JORGE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
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